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Van Aalderen, Nicolien; Horlings, Ina

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Accommodative public leadership in wind energy development: Enabling citizens initiatives in the Netherlands

Nicolien van Aalderen [b], Lummina Geertruida Horlings [a,*]

[a] University of Groningen, Faculty of Spatial Science, Department of Spatial Planning and Environment, Landleven 1, 9747AD, Groningen, the Netherlands
[b] KWR Water Research Institute, Groningenhaven 7, 3430BB, Nieuwegein, the Netherlands

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ABSTRACT

This research centers around the question: How can provincial governments take the lead in implementing an adaptive governance approach considering citizen-led wind energy development? A framework for 'accommodative leadership' was created - building on the work of Meijerink and Stiller (2013) regarding leadership in climate change adaptation, and the work of Sotarauta (2010) on place leadership. The combination of the two provides a leadership framework which aims to include both governmental actors and local citizens initiatives as potential leaders in wind energy development.

Three cases studies in three regions of the Netherlands were assessed. The results show that provinces adopt various leadership styles, referred to as 'facilitative decentralization', 'deliberative innovation' and 'authoritative reluctance'. Our conclusion is that there is no roadmap for effective accommodative leadership, as it occurs in many forms. Nonetheless the developed framework can be used by regional governments as an assessment tool to understand the roles and actions which can potentially be taken by this authority to purposefully allocate their leadership capacities, while allowing citizen-led wind energy development.

1. Introduction

Over the last few decades, the realization that an energy transition is unavoidable, is increasingly embraced by scholars, as well as nation states and societies (Breukers and Wolsink, 2007; Meadowcroft, 2009; De Boer and Zuidema, 2013). Renewable energies (RE) are considered abundant and their potential is highly promising. Yet, their implementation is challenging as they are highly geographically bound. Both wind and solar power, two of the most commonly applied RE technologies, require a considerable amount of space and are visible in the everyday landscape. Nonetheless, despite this spatial impact, the production of energy is often framed as an isolated or sector-based theme by governments (De Boer and Zuidema, 2013). Whilst energy ambitions are expressed by all levels of government, RE developments are commonly approached as separate, technical projects, and synergies with socio-economic contexts and physical landscapes are often missing (De Boer and Zuidema, 2013). In a similar fashion, wind energy development has been dominated by a techno-corporatist approach, with a strong focus on centralized decision-making and expert knowledge (Breukers and Wolsink, 2007).

This technocratic tradition is however changing, and new actors are entering the energy arena. In Western European countries the emergence of citizen-led community initiatives and civic enterprises can be witnessed (Soares et al., 2018), taking over governmental tasks in providing public services in the energy sector. Energy initiatives have received extensive academic attention (Bauwens et al., 2016; Warbroek and Hoppe, 2017; Walker and Devine-Wright, 2008).

This raises questions regarding who can and should take the lead in the context of energy transition and climate change policies. We assume that the strategy of co-production by governments and citizen initiatives (Ostrom, 1996; Albrechts, 2010) can potentially result in shared leadership in solving the challenges of climate change and energy transition. Yet, co-production should be accommodated by the responsible (regional) government, as they behold the final authority on spatial planning. To accommodate this requires public leadership of a very specific form. The objective of this paper is to provide insight into the functioning of public leadership when accommodating active citizenship in sustainable energy production. This has been assessed based on three case studies investigating: How can provincial governments in the Netherlands take the lead in implementing an adaptive governance approach considering citizen-led wind energy development?

This research context of Dutch planning is quite specific as all

* Corresponding author.
E-mail addresses: nicolien.van.aalderen@kwrwater.nl (N. van Aalderen), l.g.horlings@rug.nl (L.G. Horlings).

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provinces received a wind energy development target of the national government in 2011, as part of the development goals for 2020. The Dutch provinces behold the spatial planning authority to develop large renewable energy structures such as wind energy turbines and therefore are leading the development process. Yet, as the spatial impact of these structures is large, there is an increasing tendency to include citizens and other parties in planning decisions. Moreover, also the financial participation of citizens in wind energy development is becoming more common in the Netherlands, as over 80% of all wind turbines developed in 2017 offered the possibility for citizens to participate in the implementation (Schwenke, 2017).

This article has academic ambitions to create a framework for public leadership, by combining leadership for climate change adaptation (Meijerink and Stiller, 2013) and place leadership (Sotarauta, 2010) in the context of the energy transition. This framework can increase our understanding of the roles and actions authorities can take to improve everyday policy practices in this field. Empirically we aim to provide insight into the varied leadership styles of regional governments and their effectiveness in planning renewable energies. We will provide recommendations on how civic engagement –in the form of bottom-up development by local energy initiatives-can be incorporated in spatial planning by practicing *accommodative* leadership.

The paper begins by outlining the research context of emerging voluntary civic engagement which has consequences for the roles of governments in supporting more renewable forms of energy production and consumption. The paper then elaborates on the theoretical framework and the methods used in this paper. The empirical results are described in section 5. The paper ends with a discussion of the research outcomes and conclusions.

2. Active citizenship in energy transition

2.1. Active citizenship

The active citizenship approach seeks to increase the active participation of citizens and to share the responsibility for spatial environment between the government and civic communities. From a community perspective active citizenship is recognized to increase social coherence, empower citizens, and enhance connectivity's between social networks and public welfare (Boonstra and Boelens, 2011).

Academics have used different concepts to understand individual and collective active citizenship in its varied forms, such as transformative agency (Westley et al., 2013), grassroots innovation (Seyfang and Smith, 2007); social innovation (Bock, 2012; Moulaert et al., 2010), niche innovation (Kemp et al., 2001; Geels, 2004), the democrative power of associations (Warren, 2001), active citizenship (Van Dam et al., 2014), bottom-up development (Miazzo and Kee, 2014), self-organisation (Boonstra and Boelens, 2011), and 'the silent revolution of collective action' (De Moor, 2008). Others have tried to capture these phenomena empirically in models such as the CLEAR model (Bakker et al., 2012) describing citizens attributes like willingness and capabilities, or the ALMOLIN model (Moulaert et al., 2005) which includes how local initiatives mobilize resources contributing to social innovation and institutional arrangements.

The increasing scholarly interest in active citizenship can partly be explained by a renewed interest in community, place and 'local identity', the re-emergence of the social economy, the privatization of public services, and tensions between empowered 'bottom-up' initiatives and the changing role of the state (Horlings, 2017; Moulaert et al., 2005). Active citizenship can be evoked via crises or stem from people's own needs and necessities (Baker and Mehmood, 2015, p.324). Motivation for active citizenship can arise from the desire to respond to unwanted developments (such as wind parks) or driven by idealistic motivations to improve the quality of their place (see also Rauws and Bouwman, 2017).

2.2. Co-production

Active citizenship has sparked the debate on the position of citizens in relation to governments (Van Dam et al., 2015). A form of active citizenship evolving in Western Europe as a response to climate change are local or energy initiatives (LEIs) (Schoor and Scholtens, 2015; Hoppe et al., 2015; Soares da Silva et al., 2018). Yet, despite the rise of these LEIs, governmental actors and public policies are still recognized as indispensable in dealing with climate change, which is characterized by uncertainty and unpredictability (Meijerink and Stiller, 2013). It has been suggested that co-production is needed in the management of social change, implying that citizens play an active role in producing public goods and services of consequence to them, potentially creating synergy between what a government does and what citizens do (Ostrom, 1996, p. 1079). Co-production is suggested to result in efficiency gains, increased effectiveness (Whitaker, 1980; Marschall, 2004) and improved quality of services (Nesti, 2017). It shifts the balance of power, responsibility and resources from professionals to individuals and collectives, engaged in shaping their own places (Albrechts, 2010). Also, co-production can potentially shift government-led planning to forms of community-led planning, where the self-governing and activities of active citizens might become the point of departure and direction for spatial planners instead of governmental plans (Meijer, 2017; Meijerink and Stiller, 2013).

Despite this potential, government-led participation schemes are not well designed to enable active citizenship. The self-governance of these initiatives often does not fit within existing policy-schemes and governmental frameworks (Boonstra and Boelens, 2011). The inclusion of active citizenship policy is often challenging and governments have not yet found adequate ways to deal with this (Van Dam et al., 2014). Therefore, the question of how co-production between governments and LEI can result in shared leadership in the energy transition remains unanswered. Although leadership is recognized as an important factor influencing a governments adaptive capacity, we also have to realize that leadership is just one of the conditions; for instance, Gupta et al. (2010) distinguished six dimensions of climate change adaptation, including resources, variety, fair governance, learning capacity, room for autonomous change and leadership.

2.3. Local energy initiatives

As was mentioned earlier, LEIs can be considered exemplary for active citizenship in Western Europe. LEI can be defined here as "decentralized, non-governmental initiatives of local communities and citizens to promote the production and consumption of renewable energy" (Oteman et al., 2014, p. 2). An aspect which differentiate LEI from other grassroot initiatives, is the ability to participate financially in a project, which also contributes to the local acceptance of RE (Hoppe et al., 2015). In the literature, multiple motives are mentioned for the establishment of LEI, ranging from political motives (dissatisfaction with current government), ecological motives (climate change mitigation), to social (community feeling and liveability) and economic (financial) motives. While ecological motives are generally prevailing, they often occur in a mix and are closely linked to other categories (Hoppe et al., 2015).

According to Smith (2012) LEI have a variety of important roles in relation to the energy transition. They raise community awareness; organize protests; provide counter-expertise to established parties; and induce green consumption. However, LEI also face many challenges. Difficulties frequently discussed in the literature are: dependency on volunteers and lack of skilled-workers; not having an established infrastructure of assistance; a lack of funding and institutional support; and the risk of being alienated from their community if they professionalize and become too large (Hoppe et al., 2015).

3. Public leadership

Leadership is considered crucial in a regional government's efforts to deal with changes in their direct environment, caused by for instance climate change. By practicing strategic leadership active adaptation to changing conditions can occur (Sotarauta and Mustikkamäki, 2012). This requires insight in types of public leadership ranging beyond leading individuals (Beer and Clower, 2014) to encompass a much broader movement towards realizing useful change (Meijerink and Stiller, 2013). Governments not only influence the occurrence of conditions in which leadership can emerge (Beer and Clower, 2014), but can also take up leadership roles themselves. It has been suggested that successful public leadership in climate change adaptation would create room for, or stimulate, experimentation and diversity, which can enhance the adaptive capacity of governments (Meijerink and Stiller, 2013). LEIs, promoting community ownership models, local decision-making and participation, seem to embody these ambitions (Soares da Silva et al., 2018). Yet, currently it is unclear which public leadership types and roles effectively can enable LEIs.

3.1. Types of leadership

Multiple types of leaderships have been identified by a variety of scholars, including place leadership, complexity leadership theory, sustainability leadership and leadership for climate change adaptation (Sotarauta et al., 2012; Meijerink and Stiller, 2013; Beer and Clower, 2014). As the main governance challenges discussed in this paper relate to the emergence of LEIs on a local scale and the ability of governments to deal with energy transition and climate change, the focus will be on the concept of public place leadership, as well as on Meijerink and Stiller (2013) framework for leadership in climate change adaptation.

Meijerink and Stiller (2013) have adapted the framework of Complexity Leadership Theory (CLT) to apply this to climate change adaptation. Whilst other leadership theories tend to focus on the leadership of persons, CLT aims to examine the fundamental dynamics of leadership as a process. In CLT the focus is on the relation between various agents and actors (Beer and Clower, 2014). Place leadership forms a useful addition to the efforts of Meijerink and Stiller (2013) as it links leadership to specific places or regions. As was discussed before, RE developments by LEIs are often initiated in response to climate change, whilst having a strong local foundation. Therefore we consider a framework combining these leadership approaches suitable here. Place leadership provides insight into the effective implementation at the local or regional level (Beer and Clower, 2014) and is omnipresent as the process of governance itself cannot be separated from its political, social or environmental surroundings (Loorbach, 2010). Effective place leadership allows regions to develop new pathways supporting balanced and sustainable regional development (Horlings et al., 2018; Sotarauta et al., 2012), herein sharing an ambition with leadership focused on increasing climate change adaptivity, as described by Meijerink and Stiller (2013). The following sections elaborate on both leadership types, describing how they contribute to the development of a public accommodative leadership framework.

3.2. Leadership in climate change adaptation

Within CLT three functions of leadership are identified: administrative, adaptive and enabling. In their interpretation of CLT for climate change adaptation, Meijerink and Stiller (2013) have altered the notion of the administrative function, to political-administrative to emphasize the relevance of the political context. The locus of this function -which refers to who fulfils the leading role- is the positional leader (e.g. elected politicians). The political-administrative function encompasses decision-making on, and communication of, visions. The adaptive and enabling functions are related to policy processes (Meijerink and Stiller, 2013). These processes also include tasks to be executed by public leaders. The adaptive leadership function refers to complex dynamics, arising out of the conflicts and struggles between groups (Beer and Clower, 2014) and crucial for developing new and innovative ideas (Meijerink and Stiller, 2013). The enabling function creates the conditions allowing for these ideas (Beer and Clower, 2014). The latter can be executed through, for instance, the fostering of interactions, the creation of a sense of urgency and by allowing for differentiation of set norms and standards (Meijerink and Stiller, 2013).

Subsequently, Meijerink and Stiller, 2013 added two additional functions to the CLT spectrum: the dissemination and connective function. The dissemination function entails all activities that are intended to disseminate innovative ideas and approaches, developed through the adaptive function of the network. The connective function includes all leadership activities related to realizing connections between different scales within a network. This includes different governmental scales, but also the connections with other policy sectors and actors (Meijerink and Stiller, 2013). The framework developed by Meijerink and Stiller (2013) to assess leadership functions (Table 1) aims to contribute to the adaptive capacity of inter-organizational networks. Governance efforts by governments can be regarded as such networks.

3.3. Place leadership

A separate strand of literature has connected leadership to the development of regions and places. In doing so, leadership becomes more complex and reaches beyond the notion of hierarchical leadership (Beer and Clower, 2014). A rapidly increasing body of literature discusses the concept of place leadership. Place leadership is often referred to as encompassing a form of shared, cooperative or collaborative leadership, as it deals with a variety of stakeholders and vested interests in places. It has been referred to as multi-agency, multi-level, and multi-faceted, and is shaped differently according to various institutional and cultural contexts (Sotarauta et al., 2012). According to many scholars, place leadership can support knowledge networking across thematic, organizational and administrative boundaries (Beer, 2014; Beer and Clower, 2013; Collinge and Gibney, 2010; Collinge et al., 2010; Gibney, 2011; Horlings et al., 2017a,b; Liddle et al., 2017; Potluka et al., 2017; Pugalis et al., 2014; Rossiter and Smith, 2017; Sotarauta et al., 2012). Moreover, leadership at a local or regional scale is deemed to improve (economic) outcomes, while using collaborative, rather than hierarchical methods to connect institutions, individuals and firms (Beer and Clower, 2014). Place leadership entails the pooling of local resources and the mobilization of a community. The local leader functions as a catalyst in engaging the community and its resources in the development of a region (George and Reed, 2015). The task of local leader can be taken up by both communities, civic leaders and positional leaders.

With having legal authority, regional governments enact leadership in spatial planning. Sotarauta (2010) connects positional leaders in

Table 1
Adapted from Meijerink and Stiller (2013), p. 252.

Leadership function	Leadership practices
Political-administrative	Decide on, communicate, and monitor the realization of a shared vision on climate adaptation, generate and allocate necessary resources for climate change adaptation.
Adaptive	Allow for and stimulate a variety of adaptation strategies and options.
Enabling	Create a sense of urgency, e.g. by setting deadlines; insert adaptive tension; foster interaction
Dissemination	Insert newly developed ideas (within the CAS) into the network of positional leaders; get accepted newly developed ideas
Connective	Promote problems and mobilize actors to search for solutions; bring people together/agree on a collaborative strategy; stimulate multiple action options/working together/building trust and legitimacy; forge agreement/move to action/implement strategies

regional governments, or regional development officers, to their function in a network, stating that "*[p]olicy networks are not self-organising entities but groups of people that need their shepherds*". Although, Sotarauta, 2010 does not apply the term place leadership himself (instead he focusses on leadership in regional economic development, including networks present and the regional development officers enacting this leadership), his research has been framed as such by various scholars (see Ayres, 2014; Sotarauta et al., 2012; Beer et al., 2018). Sotarauta, 2010 contribution is relevant, as he has provided ways in which professional staff express leadership in bringing strategic plans into effect and enhance communication between stakeholders (Beer et al., 2018), which is in line with our ambitions to create a framework for co-production. The key activities of Sotarauta, 2010 regional development officers are listed below (Table 2).

3.4. Accommodative leadership

While leadership is discussed in many contexts, the functioning of public leadership in relation to newly arising forms of citizenship, such as LEIs, has not yet attracted sufficient scholarly attention. This paragraph therefore focusses on the tasks and functions of public leadership, that would constitute place leadership in RE development, whilst enabling citizen-led development. In the following section, a framework for the assessment of public place leadership in RE development by LEIs is proposed.

Looking at the place leadership tasks listed by Sotarauta (2010), we identified an overlap with the functions listed by Meijerink and Stiller (2013). The political-administrative function of Meijerink and Stiller (2013) focusses on the decision-making, and creation of a shared vision and strategy, as well as the mobilization of necessary resources and the monitoring of progress. One can recognize the following place leadership tasks within this function: creation of shared vision; mobilization and recruitment and strategic awareness. Moreover, framing can be seen as a task within the political-administrative function, as the political-administrative leader makes decisions with regard to the creation of a shared vision and hereby stirs a specific development i trajectory, which can be considered as framing the issue.

The adaptive function is not executed by individual leaders but emerges out of the complex adaptive system that the policy network embodies. Even though Meijerink and Stiller (2013) assign no activities to this function, still one function mentioned by Sotarauta, 2010 seems fitting: the allowance and stimulation of a variety of adaptation strategies and options.

The enabling function encompasses the creation of strategic awareness, framing and coordination. Through strategic awareness and framing a sense of urgency can be communicated. Moreover, through the creation of new institutional structures, the positional leader can allow experimenting with new innovative ideas.

The dissemination of innovative local ideas can be executed through effective coordination and boundary spanning by the positional leaders. Though integration, solidarity and transparency between actors, as well as the creation of new institutional structures, "frozen shapes" can be dismantled and a new common vision can be created. Moreover, as a boundary spanner, the positional leader can broaden the vision of established network participants and create a more diversified network and vision.

Finally, the connective function entails a wide range of possible leadership tasks. Through strategic awareness certain issues can be promoted and mobilization and recruitment can be adopted in the search for solutions. By bringing people together and having them agree on a collaborative strategy, a common vision can be created. The coordinative tasks can be performed to stimulate multiple action options and interdependencies, but also to create agreement through focussing on connectivity between actors.

Combining these functions and tasks, a new framework arises, suitable for the assessment of public place leadership in climate change adaptation, whilst valuing bottom-up movement by LEIs. We refer to this type of public leadership as 'accommodative' leadership (summarized in Table 3 and Fig. 1) to distinguish these roles and tasks from more general notions such as shared leadership or facilitative government.

Table 2
Expressions of public place leadership based on Sotarauta (2010).

Leadership task	Leadership practices
Span boundaries	Influence the actions of other organizations, also outside of the leaders' authorial network.
Mobilization of individuals and recruitment of skills	The mobilization of individuals with various backgrounds. Using locally available skills.
Create strategic awareness	Create a focus on specific topics of interest through the strategic sharing of information.
Framing of the development	Creating a shared understanding and vocabulary on the issue at hand.
Coordination	- Creation of new, flexible structures, to overcome "frozen shapes". - Creation of trust, solidarity and interdependence through integration, connectivity and transparency. - Creation of shared knowledge.
Creation of shared visions	Creation of focussed, whilst inclusive, vision documents that contribute to a common vision.

4. Methodology

4.1. Case-study research

For this study we assessed the leadership role and tasks of provinces and till what extend they enabled local energy initiatives. To meet this objective and to evaluate the accuracy of the developed framework for accommodative leadership three provinces were studied in the Netherlands: Gelderland, Flevoland and North-Holland. These provinces were selected to maximize variety, whilst allowing for a similar national legislative framework. By selecting three cases within one country we aimed for comparability. As the cases show differences with regard to their history in wind energy development and wind energy potential, as well as differences in size and landscape, they provide a feasible yet varied base for evaluation of the developed leadership framework. The wind energy development in these provinces is also in a very different phase. Whilst Gelderland in 2016 only had 39 turbines, the provinces of North-Holland and Flevoland had 306 and 648 turbines installed (CBS, 2018). Also the type of ownership differs in this province. While the first LEIs arose in the late 80s in North-Holland, the first LEIs in Gelderland and Flevoland were only established after 2010 (table 6) (Schwencke, 2017). As leadership is a relay in time (Sotarauta and Mustikkamäki, 2012), the history of (LEI) wind energy development is an important factor to consider, especially when explaining the differences in leadership between these provinces. A last aspect to note is the unique history of Flevoland, and its corresponding relationship to development. Flevoland is reclaimed out of the former Zuiderzee, an inland going sea-arm. The province of Flevoland was finished in the late 60s and consist almost exclusively of 'polderlandscape'.

In each of the selected province a LEI is active, who aims to be involved in the planning and development of wind turbines. These LEI were analysed to analyse the actual and perceived enabling role of the province towards citizen-led wind energy development, via online available information and interviews with board members.

LEIs were selected that apply a cooperative model, encompassing not just financial participation, but also ownership and influence of the participants on the internal decision-making. The cooperatives are democratically organized, with equal voting rights for all members of the cooperative. The ownership of these models can differ between a cooperative ownership and a shareholder model (Schwencke, 2017). Besides these forms, there are also forms to be found which include financial participation in wind energy development, without ownership

Table 3
Framework for accommodative leadership created by the authors.

Leadership function	Leadership tasks	Leadership practices
Political-administrative	Creation of a shared vision, mobilization and recruitment, coordination, strategic awareness and framing.	- Decide on, communicate, and monitor the realization of a shared vision on regional development in climate change adaptation (including strategic awareness and framing of the issue); - Generate and allocate necessary resources for climate change adaptation; - Inclusion of all stakeholder in development of public energy vision; - Creation of shared understanding and vocabulary.
Adaptive	Coordination, mobilization and recruitment	- Allow for and stimulate a variety of adaptation strategies and options.
Enabling	Strategic awareness and coordination.	- Create a sense of urgency, e.g. by setting deadlines; insert adaptive tension; foster interaction - Set frame for innovations: e.g. allow for differentiation of standards.
Dissemination	Common vision, coordination, spanning of boundaries.	- Redesigning and altering existing institutions to overcome "frozen shapes": institutional renewal - Insert newly developed ideas (within the CAS) into the network of positional leaders; - Get newly developed ideas accepted;
Connective	Creation of shared vision, mobilization and recruitment, spanning of boundaries and coordination.	- Promote problems and mobilize actors to search for solutions; - Bring people together/agree on a collaborative strategy; - Stimulate multiple action options/working together/building trust and legitimacy; - Forge agreement/move to action/implement strategies; - Management of connections between different scales within a network

Task: / *Function:*	**Strategic awareness**	**Framing**	**Coordination**	**Common vision**	**Mobilization & recruitment**	**Span boundaries**
Political-administrative	Deciding on focal points of regional strategy	Strategic framing of issues	Building of trust and legitimacy within the network	Regional strategy development	Mobilize, generate and allocate resources, knowledge and individuals	X
Adaptive	X	X	Institutional flexibility to allow for innovation	X	Gather resources for innovation	X
Enabling	Create a sense of urgency	X	Allow for differentiation of set norms and standards; foster interactions within the network	X	X	X
Disseminative	X	X	Institutional renewal	Get newly developed ideas accepted	X	Insert newly developed ideas in networks of positional leaders
Connective	X	X	Management of connections within the network; trust, integration and transparency	Collaborative strategy development	Stimulate multiple action options, mobilizing actors to search for solutions	Connect different networks

Fig. 1. Visualization of accommodative leadership functions with corresponding tasks, figure created by authors.

(Schwencke, 2017), however, these are not included in this study.

In Gelderland, the cooperative LEI 'windpark Nijmegen-Betuwe', located in the municipality of Nijmegen, was studied. The initiative is a cooperative, founded in the city of Nijmegen in 2013 during a neighbourhood event. The initiative has yet developed a wind park of four turbines in the region, which was co-invested in by over 1000 citizens (Windpark Nijmegen-Betuwe, 2017).

In the province of Flevoland, the LEI 'Windpark Zeewolde' is a collaboration between inhabitants, farmers, and wind turbine owners. In the rural area of the municipality Zeewolde approximately 220 farmers live, of which 90% own a wind turbine. These turbines provide the farmers with additional income. However, they are reaching the end of their lifespan (which is around 20 years). Therefore, the LEI 'Windpark Zeewolde' aims to replace the 220 older turbines in the area with 91 new ones. The old turbine owners have the possibility to, in exchange for the remediation of their old turbine(s), to receive a share in the new wind park. Hereby the landscape can be re-organized, whilst maintaining the extra local income the turbines generated. Moreover, also other inhabitants and companies in the region are provided with the possibility to invest in the new turbines (Ontwikkelingsvereniging Zeewolde, 2017). During the data collection stage of this study, the turbines were not yet developed, but permits were provided to the LEI.

In North-Holland the LEI 'NDSM Energie' represents over 60 businesses of the NDSM wharf area in Amsterdam (NDSM Energie, no date).

The initiative applied for a permit at the municipality of Amsterdam, which was granted to them in 2014. Yet, the permit got overruled and withdrawn by the province. Hereafter, the LEI applied for a new permit at the province, which was denied in 2017 (NDSM Energie, no date).

4.2. Data-collection

Provincial policies were studied via the analysis of policy-documents, as well as by performing semi-structured interviews with energy policy coordinators and members of local energy initiatives. The policy analysis focused on the requirements the selected provinces have set to wind energy development and on their energy policies. The data for the policy analysis has been collected from the official provincial websites. The main sources were the provincial strategic documents on wind energy development (*Structuurvisie/Windvisie*), as well as the environmental impact assessments (*PlanMER*) made by each province (or the elucidation of these), and the more general environmental strategies (*Omgevingsvisie*). For each case these three main policy documents with regard to provincial environmental and wind energy policy were studied. Both the interviews and policy documents have been analysed using deductive codes derived from the developed leadership framework. These codes were grouped in topics covering governance, participation and adaptation.

The semi-structured interviews focused on the perceived and expected public leadership by the provincial governments. Nine interviews were conducted either by phone, skype or face-to-face, ranging between 30 and 70 min, in the spring of 2018. For each province the provincial coordinator for wind energy development was interviewed; as well as a board member of the selected LEI in the province; and a responsible alderman or executive for the municipality. The main topics covered during these interviews have been the interpretation of the assigned provincial roles. Herein the focus has been on the inclusion of LEIs in the planning process, as well as on the planning outcomes. Table 4 summarizes the main themes discussed in the interviews.

5. Findings

In the following paragraphs the case studies will be discussed in more detail. Both North-Holland and Flevoland have turbines within their provinces that are already exceeding their lifespan, which is set at approximately 20 years. For Gelderland the 2020 targets initiated a first round of large-scale development. Flevoland and North-Holland are therefore also dealing with remediation of the old turbines.

5.1. Province of Gelderland

The province of Gelderland received the lowest target of the three provinces, as this province has to develop 230,5 MW (MW) before 2020. Based on the interviews and policy analysis it can be concluded that the provincial government takes a rather flexible position in regard to wind energy development. In terms of the content of their policy they allow a wide variety of options for the placement of turbines. Their spatial policy focuses on zones excluded from placement, potentially allowing development in all other areas. Also, they have adopted a scope going beyond 2020, allowing for more long-term planning.

Table 4
Main topics discussed in the interviews.

Development of the guiding planning documents
• Role of the province
• Involvement of other parties (LEIs, municipalities)
• Communication of planning decisions
Execution and implementation of planning documents
• Executed role of the province
• Involvement of other parties (LEIs, municipality)
• Relationship between parties involved in the planning process
Governmental/planning innovation
• Rigidity and transparency of regulations
Practiced leadership
• Effectiveness of leadership practiced
• Desired leadership of the province

The creation of the wind strategy was strongly provincial led, whilst based on consultation of the municipalities. Municipalities willing to develop wind energy were given the possibility to designate areas on the provincial 'wind map'. Hereby the municipalities can have an important role in Gelderland, and if willing, they are also leading in the implementation of the energy strategy. This indicates a decentralized and place-based strategy of the province: the willingness of the municipality and residents is highly valued and if possible, they are also given the lead in the development process. However, as reaching the wind energy targets is the goal of the provincial government, these conditions can also be overturned. If a LEI initiative is blocked by a municipality, they can reach out to the province for support. The current provincial policy allows them to go to the *Raad van State* (Council of State, the highest juridical court in the Netherlands) and apply for a permit despite the municipal resentment. Whilst the policy documents of the province only discuss municipalities with higher ambitions than the provincial ones, it became clear during the interview with the provincial representative that there are also multiple municipalities unwilling to develop wind energy. This indicates that, despite the place-based approach the province is aiming for, and the relatively low target they received, there might not be sufficient municipalities willing to develop wind energy to meet the target in time.

Looking at the perspective of the municipality and the LEI, the large role given to the municipality is apparent. Both the LEI and municipality had only sparse contact with the province and mainly dealt with the development process themselves. Both the respondents from the municipality and the LEI state that in general, contact with the province *has been little needed over the process time* (Interview LEI). Also, the respondent of the municipality stated: *in my experience the province was no party in this* [the wind energy development process] (interview municipality). LEI do, however, get supported by the province indirectly through an umbrella organization, the association of LEIs in Gelderland.

The narrative of participation and bottom-up development is very strong in both the policy analysis and the interviews with governmental representatives. To coin the accommodative leadership practiced by this province, the decentralized approach they take is crucial, just as their facilitation attitude towards the municipality and LEI. Therefore, Gelderland's leadership strategy can be characterized as *facilitative decentralization.*

Applying the framework of Fig. 1 to Gelderland many functions and tasks listed were found. The adaptive and enabling functions seem to be of main importance in the provincial strategy. The province allows initiatives to be very flexible in the placement and the number of turbines, just as they aim to enable LEI wind energy development in various ways. Through participating in the 'Gelderse energieakkoord' (Energy Agreement Gelderland) they create a sense of urgency. Moreover, by supporting LEIs through subsidies, as well as with knowledge, they aim to mobilize resources for innovation. All these measures opt to enable LEI wind energy development. The LEI and municipality have experienced the flexible strategy of the province.

The main tasks practiced by the province are found to be mobilization and recruitment, in order to mobilize actors for development. By allowing relative autonomy to municipalities that are willing to act, the province aims to enable and motivate them to develop renewable energies. The interviews showed that the interference of the province in the eventual development of turbines was therefore minimal: they were mainly setting the framework.

A combination that was missing in the accommodative leadership framework proposed in Fig. 1 was the mobilization and recruitment task, within the enabling function. In Gelderland the mobilization of LEIs was supported by the province through enabling their participation by supporting them financially and with knowledge. Therefore, this

combination is added (thickly bordered) in Fig. 2.

A function that has been found to be of less relevance in the province is was the disseminative function. As Gelderland is developing its first generation of wind turbines, no large institutional innovations are found here. Also, the interactions in- and outside the network of developers and relevant public parties was minimal. Therefore, some function-tasks combinations that have been present in Fig. 1, are left out for Gelderland, as they were not relevant.

5.2. Province of Flevoland

Flevoland received the highest on-shore wind energy target of all provinces in the Netherlands and is required develop 1350 MW by 2020. The provincial government adopts a very strict policy on wind energy development. Looking at the content of their policy they clearly define specific areas for development as they have designated very specific zones and set a minimum of 7 turbines in a row, as well as a compulsory line set-up. Moreover, they have set remediation of all old turbines as a precondition for any development.

Also, with regard to the process the province is rather strict, only allowing one initiator of wind energy per designated region. They do, however, value the development of wind energy by residents and individual wind turbine owners highly and have encouraged them to form wind associations. In practice, these associations are the initiators of the different projects. Besides, both the wind associations, as well as the municipalities were closely involved in the development and execution of the strategy. All parties met regularly throughout the process and participation of inhabitants of the area is key to their policy. As a result, all interviewed parties were positive when reflecting on the leadership practiced by the province. The municipal respondent stated that in his opinion, the province is successful in performing her role as *the knowledge was there, due to the rich history in wind energy (…) as well as the good cooperation between parties*.

In general, the emphasis in Flevoland in relation to wind energy is on profit. Especially the LEI uses this as a main argument. Moreover, the province also aims to redesign the landscape. As this will be the second generation of turbines, remediation of older turbines and careful placement of the new ones is of high importance for them. Also, the history of Flevoland seems to influence their opinion, as the respondents refer to the difficulties in the other provinces (“the old land”) and the entrepreneurial attitude and different concept of scale adopted in this province.

The province aims to include all actors in the decision-making process. Therefore, the accommodative leadership practices of Flevoland can be said to reflect characteristics of deliberative governance. The concept of deliberative governance considers policy making as in need

Task: / *Function:*	**Strategic awareness**	**Framing**	**Coordination**	**Common vision**	**Mobilization & recruitment**	**Span boundaries**
Political-administrative	Participation is the focal point of the regional strategy	The province frames wind energy as part of the larger energy transition	Province’s main development partner are the municipalities, but others can also request support. LEIs are not included in strategy creation.	Municipalities adopt fairly individual strategies. If their ambitions fir in with the provincial ones (of exceed them) they can develop individually.	The province does not mobilizes initiatives but rather promotes them through municipalities.	X
Adaptive	X	X	Whilst putting up long term ambitions, the province allows for flexibility on the short term in location, size and organization of wind parks.	X	The province0020supports organizational innovation through favoring LEI development.	X
Enabling	Municipalities are allowed to deviate from deadlines. Sense of urgency through ‘Gelders Energieakkoord’.	X	The norms set are flexible, allowing for differentiation if the project is desired by the community.	X	LEIs are supported by the province with subsidies and knowledge (through the association of LEIs)	X
Disseminative	X	X	X	X	X	The province aims to introduce their participation strategy. Yet, not all municipalities are willing to cooperate.
Connective	X	X	The province allows relative independency of the municipalities. Demonstrating trust in this body.	The strategy is developed by the province and executed in close cooperation with municipalities	A wide variety of development options is allowed.	The province interacts with the association of LEIs and participated in the ‘Gelders Energieakkord’

Fig. 2. Overview of leadership functions and tasks enacted in Gelderland. In grey the focal points of the provincial strategy and in thickly bordered the added functions compared to Fig. 1. The cells with X represent combinations that are not relevant for this province.

of a space where different institutions, groups and citizens can come together and deliberate on current topics. In deliberative governance, those affected by the decision, are also involved in the decision-making process (Hendriks, 2009). A term that encompasses both the entrepreneurial, innovative character of the provincial leadership, as well as its governance practiced, is *deliberative innovation.*

Assessing Flevoland's leadership using the framework of Figs. 1 and 3 is created. The main function performed seems to be the *disseminative,* as their strategy focusses on institutional renewal and the acceptance of these new strategies by various stakeholders. This province is moving into its second generation of turbines and aims to renew all old turbines through four large projects in close cooperation with the wind associations. Due to this focus on a shared strategy and close connections within the network, a second function important here is the *connective* function.

Regarding important tasks in the province of Flevoland it must be pointed out that the *framing* seems to have been done carefully, and also combining it with the *creation of a common vision.* The objective of remediation is effectively linked to the idea of establishing a durable additional income for the inhabitants of the rural area through wind energy development. The new narrative is very effective and has led to a general acceptance of remediation of all old turbines. Therefore, an additional combination is added to the proposed accommodative leadership framework of Fig. 1. In Fig. 3 it is visualized (thickly bordered) how in Flevoland a new combination of functions and tasks is added between the *framing* task and *connective* function. This new function considers the acceptance of a created frame.

5.3. Province North-Holland

The target for North-Holland was set at reaching on 685,5 MW by 2020. The province adopts a rigid spatial strategy with a focus on the spatial integration of turbines. Reacting to the growing discontent regarding the placement of turbines, the province radically redesigned their strategy in 2012. The province adopted several strict regulations, with the aim to reduce the experienced hindrance of the turbines, as well as the quantity of turbines to a minimum. An example of this is their remediation strategy. The spatial pressures caused by old turbines being scattered over the landscape are at the root of their requirement of two old turbines to be remediated for each new build. Moreover, the province has set clear, designated areas suitable for wind energy, while excluding a large share of the provinces surface from development. Finally, the province considers the given target to be a maximum, allowing no additional turbines to be developed after the target is met.

The creation and the execution of this strategy can be considered top-down. The provincial government is in charge, and the municipalities only seem to fulfill a marginal role. Despite the statements made in the policy documents on stakeholder inclusion, the interviews illustrated that this did not happen as much in practice. Whilst the province sets the development frame, they are neutral about how it is actually executed. As long as initiative adhere to the described rules, and the rules are lawful, they do not interfere in the implementation of the regulations.

Initiatives such as NDSM Energy, and municipalities like Amsterdam, who themselves have set high ambitions in terms of wind energy

Task: / *Function:*	**Strategic awareness**	**Framing**	**Coordination**	**Common vision**	**Mobilization & recruitment**	**Span boundaries**
Political-administrative	Focal point of regional strategy is remediation and locally organized development	The province frames the new development mainly as cleaning up the landscape and economic possibility.	The LEI and municipalities are treated as equal partners in the development process.	In both the strategy creation and execution the LEI and municipality are involved and able to contribute.	Participants in the LEI are entrepreneurs, who organized themselves after a call from the province.	X
Adaptive	X	X	A large regional plan was developed and later adapted to the current plan with smaller development areas	X	Members of the LEI together supply sufficient resources to fund the new turbines.	X
Enabling	A remediation target is set by the province for 2027. Also those who not join the LEI must be remediated.	X	There is only limited allowance of differentiation of set rules. Yet, the rules are made in collaboration.	X	X	X
Disseminative	X	X	An innovative and collaborative strategy is developed for the second generation turbines.	Through close cooperation with the wind associations the remediation plans were accepted.	X	The province stimulated residents to organize themselves, thereby enabling their strategy of 'Scale-up & Clean-up'.
Connective	X	The frame of the province is accepted by the LEIs: they accept the legal procedures against non-participating turbine owners.	LEIs and municipalities have been included in the process from the beginning, this has fostered the building of trust.	The strategy creation happened in collaboration with municipalities and inhabitants.	Actors were mobilized to search for solutions by encouraging the formation of associations.	Many functions as housing and the airport are coordinated with other governmental bodies.

Fig. 3. Overview of leadership functions and tasks enacted in Flevoland. In grey the focal points of the provincial strategy and in thickly bordered the added functions compared to Fig. 1. The cells with X represent combinations that are not relevant for this province.

development, consider the spatial requirements set by the province to be restricting and have been in several legal battles over the last years. According to the respondent of the LEI: *The province of North-Holland is limiting itself, as they implicitly consider the provincial landscape to be uniform. They act as if the urban area requires a similar approach as the rural area.*

It is interesting to note that both the municipality and the LEI, as well as the province referred frequently to the narrative of the energy transition. Yet, limiting the spatial impact and corresponding societal opposition to wind energy by allowing limited development only, seems the focal point within their current strategy.

The province is both authoritative, as no collaboration with other parties is searched, and reluctant, as they apply a limit on the development and do not have a pro-active attitude towards wind energy. Therefore, their strategy has been coined as *authoritative reluctance*.

The province of North-Holland also enters its second, generation of turbines. However, the approach this province adopts is very different from Flevoland. North-Holland's leadership strategy of authoritative reluctance reflects the main leadership function performed in the province. This is the political-administrative function, as they focus on practicing a strict regime in wind energy development (see Fig. 4). The province has decided on the focal points of the regional strategy by itself and framed it as such. This focal point is set on the cleaning up of the landscape through remediation. They gather the necessary resources for this by enforcing the remediation of two old turbines by the development of every new one. Both the creation of a common vision, as well as the coordinative leadership task is seemingly lacking in North-Holland, as there was little collaboration with the municipalities and LEIs and they have not been created through collaborative processes. Moreover, the set rules are uniform for the whole province and no differentiation of norms is allowed. Only for the disseminative function was a combination found with these two tasks, as the current restrictive strategy was based on societal critiques and represents institutional renewal.

The main task applied is the creation of strategic awareness. In North-Holland, this was applied to communicate the narrative of wind energy as a nuisance. Moreover, the deadline in relation to the new strategy was very successful. By using a tender-like strategy, the province enabled themselves to choose the projects adhering to all rules, as well as meeting the 2020 deadline. Also, a new combination is created with the adaptive function, as the strategic awareness led to the initial radical changes in the policy (Fig. 4).

6. Interpretation and discussion

After the analysis of the cases and positioning them in the developed leadership framework, a clear difference could be observed between the provinces. Gelderland, as the largest province assessed here, negotiated the lowest development target from the national government. The strategy of this province focusses on the inclusion of stakeholders and prioritizes bottom-up processes. Nonetheless, the target for 2020 has not been met, which indicates that even though they have been receptive to bottom-up initiatives, citizens initiatives have not submitted sufficient applications to meet the targets.

Flevoland has adopted strict policy and placement zones to govern the development of wind energy. They also applied a strategy focused on participation but added a second core goal: ordering the landscape. As turbines were owned by many individual owners, the province searched for collaboration and created their "Scale-Up, Clean-Up" strategy.

Task: / *Function:*	**Strategic awareness**	**Framing**	**Coordination**	**Common vision**	**Mobilization & recruitment**	**Span boundaries**
Political-administrative	The strategy is based on the potential nuisance and remediation.	Wind energy is framed as a nuisance	X	X	Through the creation of a tender-like procedure, the initiators have been mobilized and encouraged to meet deadlines.	X
Adaptive	With a new coalition in the province the policy changed radically, the focus of the province is on the nuisance of the turbines and the remediation.	X	X	X	X	X
Enabling	Through the creation of a tender procedure, deadlines have been met.	X	X	X	X	X
Disseminative	X	X	Responding to societal critiques the province has designed this strategy, which is radically different from before.	X	X	Newly developed ideas on remediation are accepted by established positional leaders, but less by new leaders like LEIs
Connective	X	X	X	X	X	The networks of existing turbine owners is linked to new developers. However, no other links seem to be made.

Fig. 4. Overview of leadership functions and tasks enacted in North-Holland. In grey the focal points of the provincial strategy and in thickly bordered the added functions compared to Fig. 1. The cells with X represent combinations that are not relevant for this province.

However, even though the inclusion of residents was a core principle, the province stayed in control and took the lead in the governance process. From the interviews it became apparent that this was appreciated by the developers and municipality, and they felt included.

North-Holland focused mainly on meeting the set targets, whilst participation was considered of minor importance. Even though their strategy focusses on protecting the inhabitants of the province from nuisance, a repeated critique voiced the uniformity of the strategy: No difference was made in the strict regulations between urban and rural landscapes, or between types of initiatives.

Nonetheless, despite their rigid approach North-Holland is the only one of the three cases where the wind energy targets have been met. Both Gelderland and Flevoland will meet theirs in the coming few years, but of these three only North-Holland has met the original deadline of 2020. Nevertheless, it is to be expected that for the next round of development Gelderland and Flevoland are one step ahead, as they have left room for the development of strategies beyond the 2020 deadline. An overview of the strategies practiced in the different provinces and the way these are experienced is provided in Fig. 5.

6.1. Reflection on the leadership framework

The outcomes of the case studies have shown that the combinations between tasks and functions as visualized in Fig. 1, represent a good indication of the leadership functions and tasks to be expected. However, the findings also showed that these were not comprehensive. In each of the cases another leadership combination of a function and a task was added to the framework. Yet not all of the potential combinations between tasks and functions were found in each case. The empirical reality is complex and shows variety due to the interlinkages between place-based characteristics (specifically the landscape), history and governance style. In Fig. 6 an elaboration of the theoretical framework on accommodative leadership is presented. The new combinations found through these case studies are noted down in generalized terms.

Our empirical findings show that the more a provincial government is able to 'fill in' the cells of the framework, the more action is taken to realize accommodative leadership. This has been illustrated by the three cases assessed. Flevoland, who came closest to successful accommodative leadership, undertook action in 17 out of 30 cells; Gelderland who also made and active effort, is active in 15 out of 30; and North-Holland, who focused mainly on reaching the target, put less effort into participation and governance aspects, filled in 8 out of 30 cells. Reflecting on the developed framework it can be stated that this proved to be a useful tool to assess accommodative leadership. Yet, it is important to acknowledge that practicing successful accommodative leadership reaches obviously beyond the ticking of boxes. The quality of the functions and tasks executed is just as important.

The framework acknowledges the relevance of place conditions and shows how this results in fore fronting a function instead of focussing on tasks that might be more important than others. This locus of leadership is varied in the different provinces. Flevoland focused on the framing task, and getting everyone aboard, whilst Gelderland aimed at being

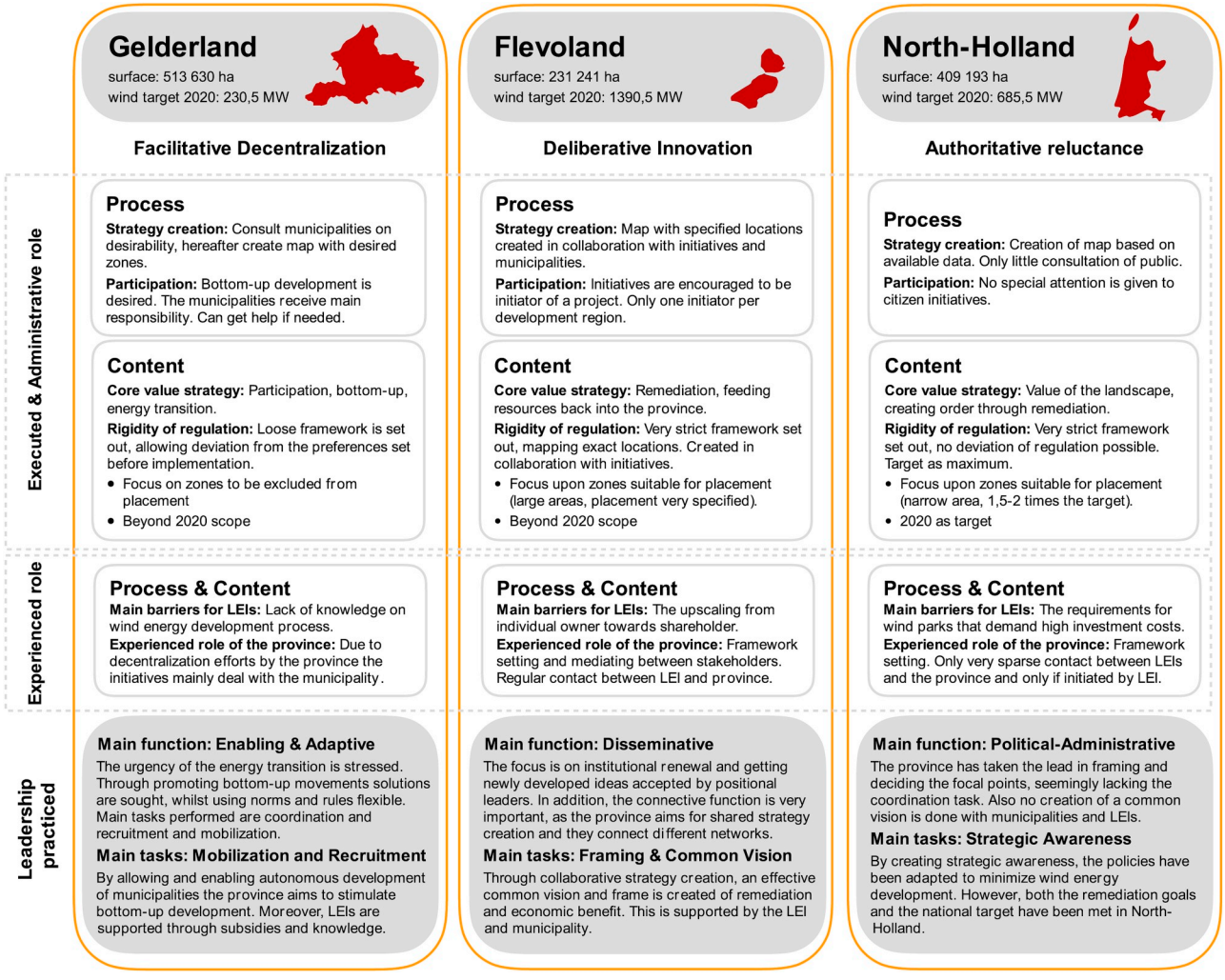

Fig. 5. Leadership roles practiced in the Provinces of Gelderland, Flevoland and North-Holland.

Task: / *Function:*	**Strategic awareness**	**Framing**	**Coordination**	**Common vision**	**Mobilization & recruitment**	**Span boundaries**
Political-administrative	Deciding on focal points of regional strategy	Strategic framing of issues	Building of trust and legitimacy within the network	Regional strategy development	Mobilize, generate and allocate resources, knowledge and individuals	X
Adaptive	Visionary change based on the awareness of societal issues.	X	Institutional flexibility to allow for innovation	X	Gather resources for innovation	X
Enabling	Create a sense of urgency	X	Allow for differentiation of set norms and standards; foster interactions within the network	X	Supporting niche development; help initiatives to overcome barriers.	X
Disseminative	X	X	Institutional renewal	Get newly developed ideas accepted	X	Insert newly developed ideas in networks of positional leaders
Connective	X	Acceptance of the applied frame by the network	Management of connections within the network; trust, integration and transparency	Collaborative strategy development	Stimulate multiple action options, mobilizing actors to search for solutions	Connect different networks

Fig. 6. Revised framework for accommodative leadership, with thickly bordered the newly added combinations. Figure created by authors.

adaptive and allowing multiple options of development. In North-Holland, on the other hand, the political administrative function was central. These different core points of their strategies do not per se determine their success, they are rather illustrative of the type of accommodative leadership practiced.

It is also interesting that effective accommodative leadership is not directly linked to effectiveness in the sense of achieving national goals. While the province of North-Holland can be characterized as the least deliberate and facilitative towards LEI, they were the only provincial authority that met the national goals. The decentralization of tasks to municipalities, as was done in Flevoland and Gelderland supports co-production but is not always effective or efficient. On the local level the knowledge and professionalization might be lacking, while local resistance plays a role as well. So, a directive governance role on the regional level seems to be important for RE development. We would thus argue that the created framework allows understanding of accommodative leadership. Yet, it does not guarantee the effectiveness of policies.

6.2. Relevance for the leadership debate

As elaborated upon in section two, energy transition forces provincial governments to combine governance, adaptability and participation to enable the inclusion of LEIs into RE development. As the quantity and the spatial impact of RE technologies will be unprecedented, an understanding of the leadership practices suitable is crucial. This study contributes to the knowledge on leadership in this context and has identified main combinations of functions and tasks that signify accommodative leadership. As became clear from the analysis, there is no blueprint for success and contextual factors influence the focus of the leadership taken. Nonetheless, the developed framework illustrates how despite the lack of a formula for success, still a differentiation can be made between the cases, based on total combinations found. Hereby the framework in Fig. 6 can potentially prove to be useful for spatial planners and other policy makers in analyzing approaches taken and the exploration of new strategies.

6.3. Locus of leadership

In this study the decision was made to focus on leadership practiced by provincial public authorities. However, it must be emphasized that the entire process requires shared leadership and thus also the LEIs themselves practice a leading role. Whilst also the leadership of LEI itself is of importance, this was outside the scope of this specific research. The cases assessed in this study show that the extent to which these LEIs are accommodated in their desire for leadership in RE development, is determined by the provinces. Despite the formal leadership tasks of the provinces, these cases have showcased that public leadership in the context of citizen-led RE development is more than only facilitative, through the formal role of the province, it is accommodative and can be expressed in multiple forms.

7. Conclusion and policy implications

This study has shown that there is not one roadmap to practicing successful leadership accommodating initiatives in RE. Many different combinations of leadership functions and tasks have been found. While assessing the cases using our framework, we found that the more combinations of functions and tasks are taken on, the more thorough and comprehensive the public leadership is. The accommodative leadership framework discussed in this article provides a detailed tool for the assessment of this type of leadership.

The cases explored show that accommodative leadership entails more than just facilitating development by setting a regulatory framework. Whilst some public authorities took on such a role, citizens initiatives might feel excluded or are not willing to be engaged. To make sure RE development takes place, regional public authorities thus should not just provide regulating conditions, but also take on a more pro-active role. By including and implementing other elements of the

accommodative leadership framework, provinces can support LEI. An example is the provision of a future vision for energy transition. The province of Flevoland has successfully applied this as they effectively framed wind energy as an economic opportunity. Note that, due to contextual differences, what an effective frame is, most likely differs per region. Yet, this is just one of multiple aspects of accommodative leadership.

This leadership framework has potential for application in different institutional contexts. We would encourage further empirical investigation in other countries as public discourses and institutional conditions show a large variety in the 'post-welfare state' (Soares da Silva et al., 2018. This might benefit public authorities who can use the framework to discuss and assess the key combinations of functions and tasks relevant for their specific context, which can gradually be expanded to include more combinations.

CRediT author statement

L.G. Horlings: Supervision, Methodology, Writing.

N. van Aalderen: Conceptualization, Methodology, Empirical data collection, Formal analysis, Writing.

Declaration of competing interests

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

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